their traditional tales probably took place by way of the Río Santiago until the confluence with the Río Cayapas was reached; thence, movement was up the Río Cayapas.

In 1879 Wolf marked on his map of Esmeraldas province a "town"--that is, a center of habitation named San Miguel de Cayapas and in 1894 Basurco recorded Cayapa living up the Río Sapallo Grande and the Río San Miguel. The latter group is reported to have an alcalde (Basurco 1894:414). Between 1809 and 1879 the Malâba had apparently been replaced by the Cayapa. By 1908 Barrett reported definitely that the Cayapa were divided into three tribal groups: Punta Venado, Sapallo Grande, and San Miguel. Each group was reported as having its own ceremonial center and being led by an /ʔiŋʔlɨ/ or gobernador. During my 1959-1960 field trip, I was told by Gabriel Anapa, the /ʔiŋʔlɨ/ of the Punta Venado group, that some twenty-five years earlier a group of people had left the Sapallo Grande section and had formed a new tribal unit with its own /ʔiŋʔlɨ/. They left after a dispute with the /ʔiŋʔlɨ/ of Sapallo grande concerning the re-establishment of Pueblo Viejo, the ancient center in the mountainous upper reaches of the Río

Santiago drainage system. The dissident group claimed that the Seints were stronger in the old area and would be of greater help to the Cayapa. The new group settled in Zapallito, where they have their own ceremonial center, but for reasons unknown they did not return to Pueblo Viejo. Factionalism apparently accounts for some of the tribal fission.

Settlement Patterns. In 1879 the banks of the Río Cayapas almost as far down as Borbon, a town at the confluence of the Río Santiago and the Río Cayapas, were inhabited by Cayapa Indians while Negroes were found mainly along the Río Santiago (Wolf 1879). By 1894 Borbon had become a Negro town, and the lower reaches of Cayapa settlement had retreated up stream toward the area of the Río Onzole. At this time, about twenty-three Negroes were reported by Reseroo to be living at Telembí, a "village" of three houses about 77.5 kilometers from the mouth of the Río Cayapas. The Negroes had been given special permission by the Cayapa to live there provided they did not pan for gold which was found occasionally. (Reseroo 1894). In 1960 Telembí was a thriving Negro village of several hundred people, and the greater part

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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CHAPTER II

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Kinship. The eliciting of kinship terminology among the Cayapa proved to be extremely difficult and time consuming. Many informants professed to be ignorant of many of the terms and clearly preferred to use Spanish nomenclature; however, sufficient data were collected to illustrate a major structural shift from Barrett's 1909 recording to the writer's 1960 notes. At present, the writer is unable to account for this shift in terms of Barrett's material and his own, as the residence and marriage patterns remain basically the same in the reports of the two investigators; however, there is some indication that new terminological forms were just beginning to come into the language in 1909. It is also known that the Cayapa tribe has undergone a process of fission, changing from one unit in 1909 to three in 1959 and four by 1960! We lack most of the vital details, but it is a reasonable assumption that changes in residence either went along with or followed the formation of the new groups.

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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will be paid for by the nearest kin of the deceased.

Except for the recent (ca. 1940) colony at Sapallito, each of the three tribal groups has a church constructed in the western manner with plank siding and flooring. The planks for the siding are all placed vertically. The roofing is of thatch and is of split construction; a clerestory space of about two feet runs along the full length of the church on both sides between the upper and lower roofs. Within the church is an altar, and before it, in the Punta Venado Church, is a large crucifix with a carved, realistic Christ figure. Infants are buried inside the church behind the altar, because they are pure and undefiled by sin. Adults are buried in consecrated ground several minutes' walk from the ceremonial center proper. Chiefs are buried just outside of the Church door under the bell which hangs from the projecting lower roof. The ceremonial center is populated by the dead and their spirits. A Cayapa is always buried in the ceremonial center to which he belongs, and he inherits his membership from his father. He may attend fiestas at any of the other centers, but he must be buried where he belongs.

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Adults and children are buried in a cemetary area called the panteón, while infants are buried directly inside the church. When an /ʔúmʔi/ dies he is buried immediately outside the church entrance underneath the church bell that is suspended from the projecting roof. The Cayapa maintain that it is very important to be buried in the ceremonial center to which one belongs. Ceremonial allegiance is inherited in the patrilineal line and even though one has spent all or most of his life living in one of the other tribal groups, they believe that one should still be buried in the proper center. If a Cayapa should die far from home, he is interred at the site of death. Thereafter, attempts are made to bring the bones back for a proper funeral and burial. A casket is made, and the bones are laid out. The mourning and gaiety described above are carried out, but in a much more perfunctory fashion.

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Medical Practices. Illness for the Cayapa is mainly a matter of soul loss or spirit possession. To a lesser extent, the cause of the illness may be the presence of small physical objects such as stones or thorns which have been placed within the body by means of witchcraft.

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The /ún^{y}i/ 'chief' of each of the tribal sections 104

is the acknowledged leader of the section; however the national government of Ecuador has inscribed the chief of the Punta Venado section as governor of all the Cayapa. The Indians of the other three groups say that while this governor is indeed superior to the others, he can in no way interfere in their internal affairs nor give orders to them. This is quite different from the situation reported by Barrett where in 1909 the chief of Punta Venado was in effective control of all of the other groups, allowing their chiefs to handle only minor matters (Barrett: personal communication). Office is inherited in the patrilineal line.

The /kúsa ún^{y}i/ may become the chief upon the death of the /ún^{y}i/ provided the eldest son of the /ún^{y}i/ is not old enough, or perhaps does not want the job. In these instances the brothers of the late governor may be considered. All of the offices mentioned pass within the male line as a rule, but they may pass out of the line if no one wants the job or if no one within the line is capable of handling it. Regardless of title, the duties of the officials are the same: they are expected to maintain order at the various festive occasions, and they are expected to adjudicate disputes among the Cayapa.

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